





Joseph Grocks

## LETTER

FROM A

Member of the States-General

IN

HOLLAND

TOA

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

IN

ENGLAND;

BYWHICH

The Saddle is put upon the RIGHT HORSE,

AND

The true Origin of the present Confusions in Europe plainly demonstrated.

LONDON,

Printed for J. Robinson in Ludgatestreet 1743.

Price One Shilling.

## BITTEL

A MOAT

Mentier of the States General

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MEMBER OF PARTITIONS

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PRINTER

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## LETTER

FROM

A MEMBER of the States General, &c.

SIR,

OU ask me, how it comes, that our Republic does not interest itself in Favour of the House of Austria, as much as Great Britain does; and at the fame time you tell me, that every Body is aftonished at it; that it is as much the Business of our Republic as of Great Britain, to preserve an Equilibrium among the Powers of Europe; that the House of Bourbon feems ready to fwallow up the whole; that we are upon the Point of lofing all those great Advantages which by vast Efforts we gained in a twenty Years War; that the Republic has no Regard to the Faith of Treaties; that it must be under the Influence of Corruption; that it is facrificed by its Magistrates; that they must be in the Pay of France; that otherwise it would have have entered into the Views of Great Britain, which is sensible of the Dangers, and has by mighty Preparations put itself in a Condition to prevent them; and finally, that if our Republic, powerfully armed as it is, should declare, every one of the neighbouring Powers would immediately be reduced within those Bounds which the Happiness and Tranquillity of Europe require. These are your Complaints of our Republic, and on the other Side, you speak with Admiration of the Wisdom, Justice, and Disinterestedness of your present Administration in England; of your Unanimity for supporting a Cause so just; of the great Sums which you are able to raise at a very moderate Interest, and of your Forces by Sea and Land.

If my Knowledge of your Government were confined to what one learns in the Closet by reading Books, I should, in perusing your Letter, have Reason to be assonished, and to accuse you of Insincerity; for from thence we ought to suppose, that a Member of the British Parliament must be thoroughly informed of the State of Affairs, in order to judge, and resolve upon what is most proper for the Happiness of Great Britain, and of Europe in general. I know you too well to doubt of your Capacity, but you likewise know, that I have been at London, and that I have endeavoured to get all possible

Information and Instruction, with Regard to the Methods taken by your Ministers for managing your Constitution, and with Re-gard to the strong and weak Side of your Government. You yourfelf have often bemoaned the Perverseness of the Times: You yourfelf have often and publicly spoken with great Vehemence against the self-ish Views of your Ministers, against the almost universal Corruption of your Members of Parliament, and against the Sacrifice that was made of the Interests of Great Britain for the Support or Aggrandisement of the Electorate of H-r. With what Energy have you not represented the Breach of Public Faith, by fo many Treaties contradictory to one another, the immense sums raifed upon a People finking under the Burden of innumerable Debts, and overloaded with Taxes? How often have you complained, that your Ministers imposed upon the Parliament by fetting Things in a Light very different from the true one, that they kept you in the dark by always denying you those Lights that were necessary for seeing Things with your own Eyes, and that their Affurance was come to fuch a Height, that they laughed at you, if you believed what they faid, and were out of Humour if you did not.

I fee plainly, that neither Men nor Meafures are changed in your Country; for if they were, you would know more of your Affairs, and as I know your Candour, you would applaud the Conduct of our Republic as much as you now condemn it, or at least you would bemoan the Fate of Great Britain.

In the Year 1731, the Court of Great Britain made a Treaty with that of Vienna, by which you guarantee'd the Succession of the House of Austria, and did the Republic the Honour to contract for it without its Knowledge a. Whether you considered us as Infants or Lunatics I do not know; but in order to compel us to acquiesce in what you had done in our Name, but without our Knowledge, you made the Affair of East-Friesland, and that of the Ostend Company a Part of the Treaty.

You ought to know how much the Republic had these two Affairs at Heart, and the Justice we had on our Side, by Virtue of solemn Treaties, and an uncontroverted Possession. All the Powers of Europe had acknowledged our Rights to be incontestable, and Great Britain more than any

other.

The Republic faw immediately the felf-

ich Views of the Court of Vienna, and the little Friendship of the Court of Great Britain, which endeavoured to make us purchase what in Justice belonged to us. However, having confidered the Confequences on both Sides, we thought it more prudent to yield a little to the Times, and to the little Friendship and selfish Views of the Courts of Vienna and Great Britain; than to be obliged to defend by Force of Arms our incontestable Rights, which might have fet Europe in a Flame, to the Destruction of those States which we had done so much for supporting and guaranteeing. We acceded, therefore, to the Treaty, but with Restrictions, for the Words, with all our Force, were explained to mean only five thousand Men on our Part, and the Guarantee was to be according to the Terms of the Pragmatic Sanction a, that is, Salvo jure cujuslibet b.

Upon the Decease of Charles the Sixth, of glorious Memory, the Arch-Duchess his eldest Daughter, took Possession of his extensive Dominions. The King of Prussia revived his Pretensions to some Parts of Sile-sia, and the Elector of Bavaria claimed the entire Succession to the Dominions of the

House of Austria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> See Appendix, No. II. b App. No. III.

The Empire was without a Head, the Laws afleep, a War kindled on the part of Prussia, upon Pretensions which had been given up by Treaty, and for which that House had received a valuable Consideration ; and on the Part of Bavaria a Claim was infifted on, which had given the Alarm to the deceased Emperor some time before his Death. The Queen of Hungary applied herself to all the Powers that had guarantee'd the Pragmatic Sanction, and particularly to the Republic, demanding the Performance of that Guarantee. The Repub-lic immediately offered its good Offices, and if they should prove unsuccessful, a Sum of Money in lieu of the five thousand Men, according to the Stipulations in which we were engaged by Treaty; the Laws and Conflictations of the Empire, which we had likewif guarantee'd, rendering it impossible for us to march any Troops thither.

But the Electorate of H— $\tau$ , always

But the Electorate of H-r, always ready to fish in troubled Waters, thought she had a good Game to play, and confidering only the great Advantages she might be able to make, formed, or at least is generally supposed to have formed a Design to convert into an offensive Treaty against the King of Prussia, the desensive Guarantee stipulated by the Treaty of Vienna; and

expecting to find in the other Powers, whose Dominions border upon those of *Prussia*, the same insatiable Thirst after other Mens Property, she is supposed to have got prefented to them, by an indirect Method, a Proposition for making a Partition of the *Prussian* Dominions, reserving, however, the principal Share to herself. This Project was received by all those, to whom it was communicated, and even by the Queen of *Hungary* herself, with that Indignation it highly deserved.

The Empire, and all the Powers that have an Interest in its Preservation, conceived that it was absolutely necessary to chuse it a Head as soon as possible, in order to awaken its Laws, and to give them that Activity which was necessary for extinguishing the Flames of War then raging therein, and which threatned a general Conflagration in that formidable Body.

Two Candidates presented themselves, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Great Duke of Tuscany. Every Man of common Sense immediately perceived, that the whole Empire, and all the Powers that had no View but the Good of the Germanic Body, and the Tranquillity of Europe, would unite their Endeavours in Favour of the former; for who could imagine, that the Empire would ever think of chusing for its Head the Great Duke of Tuscany, a foreign Prince,

and one who had scarcely a Foot of Land within the Compass of the Empire?

He was, 'tis true, married to the Queen of Hungary, who possessed the Dominions of the House of Austria, the most extensive and powerful of any in the Empire; but this very thing was the greatest Objection against him; for what Seeds of Jealousy, Mistrust, and Dissention would not

thereby have been fown?

The Queen of Hungary, you know, poffesses the Austrian Dominions by Virtue of the Pragmatick Sanction, by which those Dominions are always to go according to the Order of Primogeniture thereby established a. If the Great Duke of Tuscany, declared Co-Regent, had found himself invested with the Imperial Dignity and Power, what Chance would the Princeffes, born Arch-Ducheffes, have had for the Succession to which they are called, in Case it should become open by the Death of the Queen of Hungary without Children, or by the Failure of the Heirs of her Body? Who can ever imagine, that the Moderation of any Man possessed of the Imperial Power, and Co-Regent of fo many and fuch powerful Dominions, would have been fo extraordinary, as to induce him to

abdicate all those Dominions, and transfer them quietly to another, especially as he was thereby to reduce himself almost to nothing? Can you therefore suppose that Princes so powerful as those that are interested in that Succession, would have been so forgetful of their own Interest, as to acquiesce, much less to co-operate in the Election of the Great Duke? Do you believe that any of those Powers, who were Guarantees of the Pragmatick Santtion,

would ever think of fuch a thing?

A real War being lighted up in Germany between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, about Pretentions which he thought he had to some Parts of Silefia; and a Paper War begun between the Elector of Bavaria, who claimed the entire Succession to the Dominions of the House of Austria, and the Queen of Hungary, who was in Possession of them; every one expected with Impatience, that a Head should be given to the Empire, who, by reviving its Laws and Constitutions, with the Concurrence of the States and Princes thereof, and the good Offices of the Powers concerned for its Preservation, might stifle the War in its Infancy, by commanding the contending Parties to lay down their Arms, and submit to the Tribunals of the Empire, which would

have decided their respective Pretensions, according to the Laws and Conftitutions of the Empire, and would have taken effectu-al Measures for compelling the most obsti-nate to submit to their Decisions.

None of the foreign Powers would therefore take Part in these Disputes, any other Way than by their good Offices; but the Ele-Ctorate of H - r, with some such View as I have hinted, affembled its Troops, which, upon the King of Prussia's invading Silefia, had been augmented with fix thoufand Men; the Danish and Hessian Troops, in British Pay, were joined to them, and a formidable Body of English Troops were prepared to imbark, fome of them having been marched from the most remote Parts of the Kingdom for that purpose, and incamped at Colchester, in order to join the Army affembled at H - r, under the Command of his B - c Majesty.

The Republick, being justly alarmed at a Step so inconsiderate, what did she not do by the strongest and most prudent Representations to the Electoral Ministers? With what Earnestness did she not represent, that they were going to raise a general Combustion in Europe, which might occasion the utter Subversion of the Empire: That it was unjust so much as to think of giving

Laws to the Empire, and much more to think of seizing and parcelling out the Dominions of one of its most considerable Members: That by such a Step the Princes, that should see themselves menaced by a foreign Army, would be reduced to the Necessity, and would even be justified in calling likewise some foreign Power to their Aid; and that France, in spite of its pacifick Inclinations, would find itself obliged to march its Armies into Germany, which it was the Interest of all the other Powers of Europe to prevent. Nay, the Republick went so far as to refuse a Passage through their Territories to the English Troops.

But the Electoral Ministers would neither give Ear to the Reasons offered by the Refublic, nor believe her Predictions. They still went on in their own Course, and what the Republic had foretold, was confirmed by the Event. The Princes of the Empire, who saw themselves threatened by a foreign Army, called France to their Aid, which, 'till that Moment, had observed an exact Neutrality, without employing any thing but her good Offices.

The Crown of France being thus invited by several of the most powerful Princes of the Empire, sent two Armies into Germany; one for bridling the Electorate of

 $C_2$  H-r,

H-r, and the foreign Troops affembled, or expected there; and the other to the Affistance of the Princes who laid Claim to the Dominions of the House of Austria, those Princes having been joined by the Electoral House of Saxony. Here you see the Effect of the fine Project formed by the Electorate of H-r; but it foon found itself in Danger of paying dear for this Project; and, if it had not been for the good Offices of the Republic, the Armies of France and Prussia would have entered into that Electorate, in such a manner as would have been very far from being agreeable. The Electorate being thus fo formidably threatened, found itself obliged to submit to Conditions, hard indeed, but not fo hard as it had Reason to apprehend.

At last, the Election of an Emperor came on, which the Empire most earnestly wished for; and all the Voices were united in the Person of the Elector of Bavaria. He was immediately acknowledged by the whole Body of the Empire, except the Queen of Hungary, with whom he was then in actual War; and all the Powers of Europe congratulated him upon his Election, as soon as it was notified to them.

The

The Republic, always ready to do her utmost for re-establishing the Peace and Tranquillity of the Empire, offered a-new her good Offices to the Court of Vienna, and to the Imperial Court: She represented to them the Dangers and the Desolation to which they were going to expose the Em-pire, by the Prosecution of such a dangerous War: "She endeavoured to make the Court of Vienna sensible, that the Emperor had " great Pretentions upon the Dominions of " the House of Austria, and that some of " them were not without Foundation". " That the House of Bavaria had done " eminent Services to the Arch-Ducal " House of Austria; and that, without the " Affistance of the House of Bavaria, it might be doubted, whether the House of Austria could now have been in Possesfion, either of the Kingdom of Hungary, or the Territories of Bohemia: That they ought to remember, how much the Ba-"varian Territories had suffered by the Arms of Sweden, for supporting the House of Austria: That it was the Inte-" rest of the House of Austria to keep up " a perfect Friendship and good Correspon-" dence with his Imperial Majesty: That

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix No VI.

"thereby they would infure to themselves " the powerful Support of the Empire, in "Opposition to any Designs that might be " formed against them in Hungary by the " Turks, or against their Dominions in Ita-" ly and the Netherlands by other Powers: "That this was the more certain, because his Imperial Majesty being married to an " Arch-Duchess, by whom he had Children, was in Interest concerned to preferve entire the Dominions of the House of Austria, to which his Family was, by the Pragmatic Sanction, to succeed in their Turn, next after the House of Saxony: That the other Princes, who formed Pretenfions upon any of those Dominions, would find themselves obliged to give over all forcible Measures, and would be obliged, according to the Laws and Constitutions of the Germanic Body, to prosecute their Claims in a legal Manner before the Tribunals of the Empire; and that his Imperial Majesty's Moderation was fuch as gave Room to hope, that an End so salutary might be accomplished, " without any great Loss to her Hungarian Majesty.

At the same Time the Republic caused Representations to be made to the Imperial Court, "That the War already kindled might become fatal to the Empire, which, by

" weakning

" weakning itself, might give Encourage-" ment to neighbouring ambitious Princes to form most destructive Designs against it; and that these, the Emperor, as being the worthy Head of such a powerful Body, was in Duty bound to guard against and prevent: That this the Empire expected from his paternal Affection, which ought to put an End to the Misfortunes with which it was afflicted and torn to " pieces: That it was his Interest to pre-"vent the ruining and dismembering the "Austrian Dominions, which were entailed upon his Posterity, and to which they " might one Day fucceed: That from his " Imperial Majesty's Magnanimity it was " expected, that he would be ready to facrifice his Rights, were they even incontestable, to the Repose of the Empire, and the Wishes of Europe: That it ought to be considered as the reciprocal Interest of their Imperial and Hungarian Majesties to live together in perfect Ami-" ty and good Correspondence, by which his Imperial Majesty, being affisted by the great Power of the House of Austria, " would always be in a Condition to op-" pose any Designs that might be formed " against the Good of the Empire, or the Dignity of its Head; and it was not

" to be doubted, but that the House of Au-" firia would at all times concur with the " other States and Provinces of the Empire, " in all Measures that might be thought " necessary for so good an End: That the " House of Austria could not avoid thinking that the Friendship of the Emperor, and the powerful Aid of the Empire, " were necessary for her, in order to defend " her against the Attempts of the Turks in " Hungary, and against the Designs which fome ambitious Powers might form upon her Dominions in Italy and the Netherlands: That the Republic made no Doubt, but that the Queen of Hungary, after mature Consideration, would allow herfelf to be prevailed on to give his Imperial Majesty a suitable Satisfaction, for the fake of re-establishing a Peace and Friendship, so necessary for the Good of the Empire in particular, and for the Good of Europe in general; and that the Republic would look upon it as a very particular Obligation put upon herself, and would employ her whole Care for attaining fo defirable an End.

The Republic found in the Emperor all the Moderation there was Room to hope for from his Magnanimity; and the Steddiness of the Queen of Hungary began to give Way. Even France countenanced the Affair

Affair in such a Manner, and shewed so much Readiness, that the Republic conceived great Hopes of being able to extinguish the Flames of War, and to restore Peace and

Tranquillity to the Empire.

But the Electorate of H-r interpoled, and traversed the whole. I say, the Electorate of H-r; for who can imagine, that Great Britain would fo much as have thought of preventing the House of Au-stria's being saved, and Peace being restored to the Empire, since we see her putting herself to an immense Charge, hiring Troops at a prodigious Price, transporting Armies to the Continent at a great Expence, endeavouring to form Alliances, threatening, right or wrong, all those who think they ought not to enter into her Views; and all this, as she every where declares, for the Support of the House of Austria, and re-establishing the Peace of the Empire. After all this, can it be supposed, that Great Britain would have been a Hindrance, when the Republic was in a Method, almost certain, of obtaining the same End, without putting Great Britain to one Halfpenny Charge. The Court of Great Britain even knows perfectly well, that the Republic would have been fond of having the powerful Mediation of that Court, joined with with her own, for obtaining those Ends, that were in themselves so salutary.

But the Electorate of H-r took all imaginable Pains to render abortive the Care which the Republic had taken for restoring the Peace of the Empire, and of Europe, and from which they had Reason to hope for Success, in Consequence of their wise Remonstrances, and difinterested Mediation. The Electorate left no Stone unturned; they applied themselves to the Court of Vienna: There they talked of the inexhaustible Treasures, and numerous Forces of the British Nation, and that it was ready to scatter the former with Profusion, and to cause the latter to act with Vigour, in Support of the House of Austria, provided that Court would put a Confidence in them, and adopt such Plans as they should sketch out: They made that Court dream of feeing a Bouleversement of Affairs in the Empire; its Sovereign deposed, and the Great Duke of Tuscany raised to the Imperial Throne; the Powers in Alliance against the House of Austria terrified and humbled; the Bavarian Territories swallowed up, and become Parcel of the Dominions of the Arch-Ducal House of Austria; the auxiliary Troops of France hunted out of Germany; Alface and Lorain restored to the Houses

of Austria and Lorain; and the Frontier of

France contracted upon every Side.

All these fine Things were presented to the Imagination of the Court of Vienna; but, for obtaining fo great Advantages, it was faid to be necessary for that Court, to begin with giving Satisfaction to the King. of Prussia, in order to detach him from his Allies; the certain Consequence of which, if it should happen, would be, that his Prusfian Majesty, fearing the Resentment of the House of Bavaria, and the other Powers, his Allies, whom he had thus forsaken, would find himself under a Necessity of attaching himself entirely to the Court of Vienna, and that of the Electorate of H-r, who, by this Means, would have an Opportunity of making use of his great Army for the Accomplishment of such vast Defigns. But for this purpose it was said to be necessary, that the Satisfaction given to his Prussian Majesty, should even exceed his most sanguine Hopes, and that it should pass through the Hands of the Court of r, to the End that the King of Prussia, in Consideration of so great Benefits received, might be induced to forgive what was supposed, as I have already mentioned, to have been defigned against him, by that Court for its own Advantage, and for the Advantage, as it thought, of the Do

Court of Vienna; and that the Electorate of H—r, being thus delivered from all Apprehensions of Resentment on the Part of Prussia, might join its Troops to those of Great Britain, and Austria. And farther, it was said, that whatever this Satisfaction might be, which the Court of Vienna was to give to Prussia, it could thereby lose nothing, because the British Court would engage to procure for the House of Austria an Equivalent more than sufficient; and that, happen what would, the House of Austria might find Opportunities enough for reclaiming whatever it might then be obliged to yield to a superior Force, and the Perversenes of the Times.

To the Misfortune of the House of Austria, of the Empire, and of Europe, these Representations, which seem not only perplexing, but a little inconsistent with Justice and Equity, prevailed at the Court of Vienna over the prudent and equitable

Counsels of the Republic.

The Treaty of Breslau was concluded by the Mediation of Great Britain, where-by Silesia, and the County of Glatz, were yielded to the King of Prussia; and the House of Austria stript of the finest, the richest, and the most useful Province in her Dominions, which brought her in annually four Millions sive hundred thousand Florins

of the Rhine, about five hundred thousand

Pounds Sterling per Annum.

This Treaty was concluded at a Time, and in a Manner, that the Electorate of H - r imagined the had all the Reason in the World to rejoice at it; because it was supposed, that the Resentment of the Emperor and his Allies, would carry them to fuch a Height as to declare War against the King of Prussia, for leaving them in fuch an abrupt Manner, which might afford the Electorate of H-r an Opportunity of getting some Concessions, or some new Engagements from Prussia. But they found themselves mistaken: His Imperial Majesty, and his Allies, though sensible of the Usage they had met with from the King of Prussia, believed, nevertheless, that, in Prudence and Moderation, they ought to acquiesce; and, accordingly, they did acquiesce in what he had done: And, on the other Hand, the King of Prussia wisely confidered, that he could neither with Justice nor Prudence, enter into the Views of the Electorate of H—r; and thereby not only rifque losing what he had with fo much Difficulty acquired, but attack his Friends, who were, in some Measure, imbarked in the same Interest with him, and to whom he could not but acknowledge, that he owed a very great Obligation; for if

if Bavaria had not declared, nor France interposed, the greatest Part of his Dominions would, in all Probability, have been made a Prey to the Resentment of the Court of Vienna, and the Ambition of the Electorate of H-r, supported by the Purse and Power of G-t B-n.

the National De 61

Purse Taxpayer

Good God! Is this supporting the House of Austria? Is this establishing an Equilibrium among the Powers of Europe? Is the House of Austria so formidable, that it became necessary to retrench her Power, by stripping her of so extensive and so rich a Territory? In the Year 1717 and 1718 this House was not among you deemed so formidable, fince you then put yourselves to such an Expence, and did such an Injury to your Trade, in order to gain for her the Kingdom of Sicily. In the Year 1721, indeed, you fuddenly altered your Opinion, I shall not say causelesly; for the Cause is well known, though it had no Relation either to Britain, or the Balance of Power in Europe. You then thought the Power of the House of Austria so great, that it endangered the Liberties of Europe. There was no Safety for them, but by Great Britain's uniting itself with the two Branches of the House of Bourbon in the Treaty of Madrid June 13th 1721. In the Year 1725, and for fome Years following, you continued in

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the

the same Opinion; and nothing could save Europe from the too great Power of the. House of Austria, but the Introduction into Italy of the Troops, and a Prince of the House of Bourbon. But you ought to have confidered, that, after the great Losses, which the House of Austria has suffered in Hungary, and by being dispossessed of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and of a Part of the Milanese; and after the Addition of Lorain, Naples, and Sicily to the House of Bourbon, the Power of the former is neither really nor comparatively fo great as it was, nor near so considerable as to bear divesting itself of the Dutchy of Silefia, and County of Glatz, witdout weakning that Balance of Power, which, at prefent, you boaft fo much of defigning to re-establish.

Your Conduct in the North has been much the same. The Crown of Sweden was formerly one of the most powerful Supports of the Protestant Religion, and of the Liberties of Europe, having been among the first that gave a Check to the growing Power of France, by a League with your King Charles the Second. When that Nation, in the Year 1715, was reduced to a Condition that deserved Pity, stripped of so many, and such sine Provinces, and oppressed by a Consederacy of all the Northern Powers against it; the Electorate of H-r imagined,

1715

imagined, it feems, that the Balance of . Power in the North required Great Britain's joining itself with so many other Enemies, who, at that Time, overwhelmed that unfortunate Kingdom. It is true, indeed, that when Sweden found herself obliged to yield up to the Electorate of H r her Right to the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, that Electorate began to think otherwise, and Sweden was to be supported against Russia, at the Expence of the Trade and Treasure of G-t B-n; but when it found, that there was nothing more to be got, Good Night, Gentlemen, the Curtain is down, and Sweden was forced to procure Peace for herself by another Cestion to the Czar.

The Electorate of H - r having thus fprung her Mine, with regard to Pruffia, but without doing Hurt to any one except the Queen of Hungary, it began then to think of making Applications to our Re-

public.

On the other Hand, the Republic, always tender and vigilant, had never ceased employing her good Offices for re-establishing the Tranquillity of the Empire, and of Europe; and now seeing, by the Defection of Prussia, a Superiority of Force in Germany on the Side of the Court of Vienna, and that the Austrian Armies had already invaded

vaded the Dominions of the Electoral House of Bavaria, and blocked up the French Army in the City of Prague, she redoubled her Applications; for the prefently faw, that France would be obliged to march a greater Force into Germany, which might occasion a general Desolation. On the Part of the Imperial Court, and also on the Part of the Court of France, she found great Compliances; but on the Part of the Court of Vienna, instigated by the Ministers of H—r, the found no Ground to hope. There she found a Haughtiness and Obstinacy infurmountable; fo that she lost all Hopes of procuring for the Empire or Europe, a Peace, which both stood so much in need of.

The Ministers of G-t B-n had, from the very Beginning of those Missortunes that afflict the Empire, endeavoured to draw the Republic into the Schemes of the Electorate of H-r, by Insimuations, by Threats, and by other Methods not at all proper; but the Republic, always wise and provident, withstood all the Arts practised by your M-s; and therefore they at last resolved to compel her, whether she would or no, to act in Concert with them. Upon this they formed that wise Enterprise, of sending a Body of sisteen or sixteen thousand of their Troops to Flanders,

threatening to attack Dunkirk, and to invade the Kingdom of France: They even sent them thither without so much as previously consulting the Republic, though they profess to live in perfect Friendship with her, though they confess, as well as she does, that the Interests of both Nations are inseparable, and tho' they know very well, how much the Republic has at Heart the preferving of the Netherlands in the same Conference.

dition they are at present.

The Design of your Ministers in this wise Enterprise, was easily seen through: They had a Mind that *Prance*, seeing herfelf threatened upon the Side of Flanders by such a feeble Force, might think herself justified in attacking the Austrian Netherlands; and as the Republic could not quietly see such an Attack carried on, she would be obliged to fly to their Defence. Thus a War being once broke out between the Republic and fuch a powerful Kingdom as France, they thought she would then find herself under a Necessity of applying to the Court of G-tB—n for their Compassion and Affistance; and, in that Case, they might have prescribed to her such Conditions, however hard, as they thought were necessary for carrying on the Schemes of the Electorate of H\_\_\_\_\_r. But France having discovered the Mine, took care to act, upon

upon that Occasion, with all the Justice and Moderation the Republic could expect from her. She contented herself with covering her Frontiers, and putting herself in a Condition to repel Force by Force; notwithstanding her having Troops enough ready for invading the Austrian Netherlands with undoubted Success, in spight of the Troops which G-t B-n had there; so that the Republic found herself under the disagreeable Necessity of causing it to be represented to the M—rs of G-t B—n, that if they began Hostilities in Flanders, she must oppose them, and, with Grief, would find herfelf under a Necessity of coming to Extremities with a Nation, for which she had a most fincere Friendship and real Tenderness; and which was, in Interest bound, to have the same for the Republic.

The Moderation of France, and the Refolution taken by the Republic, prevented the Evils, which the British Ministers had done all they could to give Birth to. But can the Republic, after such a Declaration, be quite easy, when they see not only a Body of B—sh Troops continued in Flanders, but also a large Body of Hanoverians and Hessians taken into B—sh Pay, and marched into that Country? What is the Design of all these Movements? For what End are the Treasures and Troops of B—n thus E 2 employed,

employed, I shall not say, squandered away? The whole World knows, that it is neither the Interest, nor ought it to be the Defign, of G-t B-n to make foreign Conquests. This never was, it never ought to be, it never can be, the Defign of G-tB-n, no more than of the Republic, as long as  $B ext{-----} fb$  Counsels are governed by a true B - fb Spirit. They have bravely defended their own Liberties, they have honourably protected the Liberties of others: If they ever attempt to subjugate others, they will at last, as the Romans did, make Slaves of themselves. These Movements are therefore extremely mysterious; and consequently fuch as we should be apprehensive of. To extinguish a Fire we ought to bring Water; we ought not to bring combustible Matter. It is easy to kindle the Flames of War; it is likewise easy to form flattering Ideas of Victories and Conquests; but the Event, the End of it is uncertain. Of this G-t B-n has very lately had Experience. No one, I believe, can accuse the Republic of Pufillanimity. Her Courage, her Resolution, have more than once saved Europe. There are few Powers in Europe that can fail remembering it. Would to God, that, for the future, you would confider Things more maturely at L - n! May to recome beneath

the Interest and the Happiness of the British Nation for ever be the chief Aim of all your Counsels. May they be always pre-ferred to the selfish Views of foreign Counfels. As you cannot be supposed to want Capacity, I hope no B - fb Administration, much less a B-sh Parliament, will ever, for the fake of any private View, allow their Country to be made the Cat's Paw by Geo 2

any foreign Council whatfoever.

Republic.

After what I have now wrote to you, which confifts chiefly in Matters of Fact, fo incontestable, that I defy any one to contradict them; you will, I hope, do Justice to our Republic, and applaud her Conduct, as much as you have Reason to blame your own: By making you believe, you are often led into expensive and dangerous Schemes, with which you have nothing to do, and fometimes fuch as are directly opposite to what you intend. But how can it be otherwife, fince you are generally kept in the dark, denied the necessary Lights, and obliged to determine yourselves by what others are pleased to tell you. It is not so with us: Our Refolutions, which lie open to every one, are a Testimony of it. Those who think otherwise, must be extremely ignorant of the happy Constitution of our

In your Letter you mention the supporting a Balance of Power in Europe; that the House of Bourbon seems ready to swallow it up; and that Britain only can prevent this fatal Event. You make my Blood rife to hear you talk fo; notwithstanding the Phlegm of us, Hollanders, my Patience can hardly bear it. Have you forgot the very Name of Utrecht? Have you forgot, that Europe owes, in a great Measure, the Balance of Power, such as it was, that was established at that Time, to the Conduct and Magnanimity of the Republic? Have you forgot all that your late M-rs did for the Subversion of that Balance of Power, which you, in England, make fuch a Noise about? Have you forgot how much British Treasure has been squandered away for aggrandizing the House of Bourbon, which, at present, seems to you to be so formida-Would to God your late M-rs had given themselves less Concern about the Balance of Power; and that the Powers of Europe had shewn more Deference to the wife Counsels of the Republic, and less to the perplexed Negociations of your late

1713

The Republic, in the Treaties she makes, keeps always in View the Good of her native Country, and of her Allies: She never

was, nor ever will be, directed by the felfish Views of any foreign State; and she makes it a Matter of Conscience, she makes it her Glory to observe religiously the Treaties she makes, not only because it is her Duty, but because it is her Interest so to do. I wish your Ministers may, in Time to come, be able, with Truth, to say as much.

One must be altogether ignorant of the Constitution of our Republic, to be able to imagine or suspect, that it is bribed, or that its Members are in any Pay whatfoever, either Foreign or Domestic. In a Country governed by a Prime Minister, and where there are many lucrative Posts and Places at the fole Disposal of that Minister, foreign Gold, or foreign Influence may prevail; because it may be applied to that sole. Minister, and, by Means of the many lucrative Posts and Places he has at his fole Disposal, he may bring the other Members of the Government to concur with him, or approve of his Measures, though apparently inconfishent with the true Interest of their Country But, with us, this is imposfible, for two very substantial Reasons: You must, or you ought to know, that the Resolutions of the Republic must be unanimous. The States General can come to

Places of Profile

no Resolution without the Consent of each particular Province; and the States of each Province must have the Consent of each particular City in that Province, before they can approve, or disapprove of what is proposed in the States General; so that the least considerable City, in any of our Provinces, may put a Stop to the most important Resolution; and it is impossible to apply foreign Gold to the gaining of every particular City; especially if the Measure be such as is apparently inconsistent with

the true Interest of our Country.

This is one Reason why it is impossible to suppose, that the Republic is ever bribed; and the other proceeds from our having sew, and no very lucrative Posts or Places in our Government. We have with us none of those great and lucrative Employments, which are the constant Equipage of a Court, and which your M—rs are generally supposed to know how to manage to the best Advantage. The most considerable Employments with us are not comparable, with regard to their Profits, to many of the Clerkships in your Offices; and the public Money is laid out with the most exact Occonomy, which you may be convinced of by reading the Memorials of our Council of State. Here, we serve the State

because the Good of our Country requires it: The Profits can never be the Object of any Man's Defire to serve, because they are most inconsiderable, and the Pains and Trouble extremely great. But we think ourselves abundantly remunerated by the Satisfaction we inwardly feel, in contributing to the Advantage and Good of our Country.

You must from hence perceive, that we neither have, nor can have a Prime Minister. A Member of our Government may, by his Wisdom, his Magnanimity, or his Eloquence, have great Authority, but he can have no Power over his Fellow-Members: He may convince them, but he cannot corrupt them'; therefore, were he fo base as to allow himself to be bribed by a foreign Court, he could do it very little Service, because he could not convince the whole Republic, which confifts of fo many distinct Members, and so many distinct Asfemblies, to do any thing that but feemed inconfistent with the Good of their Country; and this is a most substantial Reason, why no fuch thing will ever be attempted by any foreign Court whatever.

But suppose it possible to bribe the Members of our Republic, and to bring them all into the pay of a Foreign Power, you will, I believe, agree with me, that our Republic is not fuch a trifling Object as not to

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deferve the Care of your Ministers, who, if we on this Side the Water, be not mistaken, are dextrous enough at this practice, and that they spare neither Pains nor Expence to succeed in it. The Bills brought in almost every Session of Parliament upon this Subject, and continually opposed by your Adm—tion with Success; and the constant Evasion of the most express Laws against this practice, are a Testimony, that your Circumstances are very different from ours.

The Power of G-t B-n is inconteflably very great, but we, your Friends and natural Allies, see, with Grief, the manner in which you weaken it, by using it so often without any End, without any visible Cause.

You talk of your Riches: "Tis true, there are in G-t B-n, many particular Perfons extremely rich; but your State, is it not in a most frightful Disorder? The Subject over-loaded with Taxes: An Immense Debt of above fifty Millions sterling; and a good many of those Millions due to Foreigners, which makes an annual Draught upon your Balance of Trade, or a yearly Increase of that Draught for the suture: No sufficient Funds for defraying the annual necessary Charge of your Government in time of Peace, without incroaching upon the Fund

appropriated to the payment of your Debt, and for some time held to be facred: Borrowing Money by Millions yearly in time of War, and thereby increasing, from Year to Year, your present prodigious Load of Debr. For my part, I am amazed, how people with you, can sleep quietly in their Beds, without apprehending the State to be in Danger of becoming B—pt. If this should happen, which God forbid! it will occasion such Convulsions as may produce an entire Boulversement in the Constitution as well as Government of G-tB-n.

The Republic sees all this with Trouble and Fear. You know, that a great many of her Subjects have confiderable Sums in your Funds. The Republic fees the Danger they are in: If the should make them sensible of their Danger, it might anticipate the Evil there is too much Reason to fear, and which, if it should happen, will bring not only a Desolation upon a Nation, which is and ought to be dear to her, but a Desolation, in which a great many of her own most considerable Subjects will find themfelves involved. You ought to call to mind the Affair of the South-Sea Company, and from that Pattern judge of the Piece.

In these Circumstances, was it prudent for you to provoke in any manner a general War? Was it prudent for you to encourage
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in the least the Queen of Hungary, in refufing to come to any Sort of Accommodation either with Prussa, or Bavaria? Was it prudent in you to order the Foreign Troops in your pay, to march into Germany in the Summer 1741, and thereby furnish France with an Excuse for marching her great Armies into Germany? Would it not have been better for you, and, I am fure, much less expensive, to have joined your good Offices with those of the Republic, for reconciling the contending Parties, and for bringing on the Election of an Emperor as foon as poffible, that the Empire might have been in a Condition to determine the Disputes arisen among its own Members, and to act with united Force against such as should refuse to fubmit to its Decrees.

If the Elector of Bavaria had been chofen Emperor by your good Offices, joined with those of France and the Republic; and if, by the same good Offices, he had come to an Accommodation with the Queen of Hungary, he would have owed no particular Obligation to France, and confequently, from his being Head of the Empire, as well as from his natural Temper, he would have been ready to have joined in a Confederacy against any future ambitious Project either

of France or Spain.

741

The Power of the House of Austria would, it is true, have been lessened, by one part of her Dominions being given to Prussia and another to Bavaria; but the Power of the Empire would have remained the same; and in this Case, Care might have been taken, that no part of the Austrian Dominions should be yielded either to France or Spain. If either of them had institled upon having a Share, it would have united the Empire, and all the Princes thereof, with the Maritime Powers, in a Confederacy against them, which is a Confederacy they will never again, I believe, chuse to

cope with.

It was therefore your Interest as well as ours, not to meddle in the Disputes arisen among the Princes of Germany, any other Way than by our good Offices: It was our mutual Interest to have an End put to them, either by an amicable Adjustment, or by having the Laws and Constitutions of the Empire restored to their full Vigour, which could not be done, till an Emperor was chofen. If both of us had held this Conduct: If no Defigns had been formed against Prussia: If no Foreign Troops in British Pay had entered Germany: If the Queen of Hungary had not been encouraged to expect Foreign Affistance; there was great Reason to hope that the Negotiations fet on Foot

by the Republic, would have met with not only a happy but a speedy Success. The King of Prussia would at that time have been satisfied with much less than he has got by the Treaty of Breslau; and, tho' the Duke of Bavaria laid Claim to all the Dominions of Austria, yet from the whole Tenor of his Conduct it is plain, that he would have been satisfied with a very inconsiderable part, especially if the Queen of Hungary had agreed to concur in his Election. This he would the rather have done, because the King of Prussia was at first in no League or Alliance with him, but on the contrary had declared, that, if the Queen of Hungary would give him Satisfaction with Regard to his Claims in Silefia, which had nothing to do with the Pragmatic Sanction, he would support her with all his Force, against all Incroachments upon that Settlement ; and, from the complaifant Reception, the good Offices of the Republic first met with at the Court of Vienna, she had some Reason to expect, that the Queen of Hungary might have been induced to give a proper Satisfa-ction to both these Princes, upon their entering into an Alliance for guaranteeing the rest of her Dominions, which neither of them would in that Case have refused.

But the Designs of the Electorate of H--r

embroiled the whole: They produced an Obstinacy in the Queen of Hungary, and a Jealoufy in the King of Prussia, which threw the latter into the Arms of France, and made him enter into an Alliance with France and Bavaria. This gave France the Courage and the Power to march her Armies into Germany; for the would not have ventured to have marched a Man into that Country, if she had been in Danger of having the Pruspan, and consequently the Saxon Armies, joined with the Austrian against her; and the Entry of the Danish Troops in British pay furnished her with an Excuse, which she accordingly laid hold of. Thus, whatever may be the Event of the present War, and, God knows, it may be fatal enough, whatever Expence you or we may be put to, it must be wholly imputed to your giving so much Ear to the ambitious Counsels of the Electorate of H-r, and so little to the difinterested and pacific Counsels of our Republic.

I must therefore beseech you, Sir, to have for the future a better Opinion of our Republic. She justly thinks, that Peace is preferable to War; but whenever her own Sasety, or that of her Allies, or of Europe, shall make a War necessary, she will not balance a Moment: On the contrary, she will immediately engage, and will prosecute

it with that Vigour, Resolution and Courage, which she has heretofore given so many Proofs of; and be affured, Sir, that the will to the utmost of her Power endeayour to merit the Friendship and Affection of a Nation, for which she has an infinite Regard and Esteem.

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# APPENDIX.

# Numb. I.

COUNT Zintzendorss's Speech to their High Mightinesses upon his communicating to them the Treaty of Vienna, April, 1731. See Rousset's Collection, printed at the Hague, 1732. Vol. VI. pag. 99.

His Imperial and Catholic Majesty has ordered me to communicate to you the Treaty concluded and signed at Vienna the  $16^{th}$  of last Month, between his Imperial and Catholic Majesty and the King of G-t

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B - n; and to invite the Republic to enter thereinto, as a principal contracting Party. She is named therein as fuch, because his Imperial and Catholic Majesty thought it most agreeable to the Glory of the States General, and that this Method of all others best shewed the Esteem, which his Imperial and Catholic Majesty has for the Friendship of your Republic, whose Interests are by this Treaty so carefully provided for, that, I hope, you will look upon it as an advantageous Treaty, and, if I may venture to fay fo, necessary for the Good of both Parties; and therefore, I hope, you will make no longer any Scruple to enter into reciprocal Engagements with the Emperor. His Imperial and Catholic Majesty could have wished with all his Heart to have treated this Affair, from the Beginning to the End of the Negotiation, with the Concurrence of the Republic, but the Nature of the thing would not admit of it. He has charged me, Gentlemen, to assure you, that upon all Occasions, he will put an entire Confidence in you, and will always concert with you whatever may relate to the Public Good.

Letter wrote by their High Mightinesses to the Provinces, upon Inding them a Copy of this Treaty, April 7, 1731. See ditto, pag 176.

That the Earl of Chesterfield had declared to them, that his Britanic Majesty ardently wished to have begun and continued that Negotiation in Concert, and with the Approbation of the Republic, but that the Uncertainty of Success, and the Secrecy upon which the Court of Vienna strongly infisted, would not admit of it.

## Numb. II.

The AEt by which the States General concurred in the said Treaty of Vienna, dated Feb. 20, 732. See ditto, pag. 442, 444.

### Introduction.

- With this View they have examined the Contents of the faid Treaty, and its separate Articles and Declarations, and be-G 2

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ing persuaded, that it is neither the Intention nor the meaning of the said Treaty, that by the Term, General and Reciprocal Guarantee, contained in the first Article thereof, any of the contracting Parties should be obliged to support or guarantee any Treaties unknown, in Confidence of this, &c.

#### Article I.

We the Earls of Sintzendorff and Chester-field, &c. acknowledge the meaning put upon the Words, General and Reciprocal Guarantee, contained in the first Article of the said Treaty, by the Lords the States General, to be the true and genuine Sense thereof, &c.

#### Article II.

As it is agreed by the first and second Articles of the said Treaty, that those who shall be obliged, shall employ their whole Force in the Performance of the Guarantee therein

therein mentioned, without regulating in what manner this should be done, the contracting Parties have thought proper to agree amongst themselves upon it by a particular Article. Accordingly it is agreed, that, as often as the Case of the Guarantee mentioned in the first and second Articles of the faid Treaty shall exist, the other Parties shall be obliged to fend to the Party injured the following Succours, &c. - and the Lords the States General four thousand Foot and a thousand Horse -; and to obviate any Ambiguity as to the Value of those Aids, it was thought proper to value a thousand Foot at the Sum of ten thousand Florins of Holland monthly, and a thousand Horse at the Sum of thirty thousand, &c.

#### Numb. III.

The Emperor's Commissorial Decree to the Dit of Ratisbon, with regard to the Pragmatic Sanction, dated October 18th, 1731. See ditto p. 277.

The Guarantee defired, no way tends to the Prejudice of any Person whatever; but only to defend every one's Property, &c.

#### Numb. IV.

A further Deduction, which proves, that the Dutchies of Jaegerndorff, &c. properly belong, by the Laws of Nature, and by the Constitution of the Empire, to the Royal House of Prussia, &c. 1740 Chap. III. Paragraph 28. See Vol. XV. pag. 238.

It is not denied, that the Elector Frederic William did not, by the Satisfaction-Treaty concluded in 1686, come to an Accommodation with the House of Austria; or that

that he did not accept, in lieu of the four Dutchies in question, a certain District of Country, commonly called the Circle of Sqwibus, with a Pretention of the House of Lichtenstein, which might amount to about a Million; or that, in Consideration thereof, he did not renounce all his Pretentions. It is likewise granted, that the Elector Frederic III. restored that Equivalent to the House of Austria in 1694, upon receiving something in Return, of very little Importance.

#### Numb. V.

Pragmatic Sanction settled at Vienna, April 19th 1713. See ditto Vol. VI. 282. Also Collection of Treaties published at London, Vol. IV. p. 145.

Line, at present upon the Throne, and the Josephine Line, the Arch-Duchesses, Sisters to his Imperial Majesty, and all the other Lines of the most serene Arch-Ducal House, shall succeed according to their Right

of Primogeniture, and according to the Orider established.

#### Numb. VI.

A Contract of Reciprocal Entail made in 1635 between the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, and the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, at the Time he married the Arch-Duchess Mary-Anne, and afterwards when he assisted the Emperor with all his Force in the War of Bohemia, by Virtue of which these two Princes were reciprocally to succeed, as to certain Estates, after the Failure of Heirs Male of either. See Rousset.

A Contrast made in the Year 1687 betwixt the Emperor Leopold, and the last Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian-Emanuel; by which, in Consideration of the great Services he had done, and the Assistance he had given to his Imperial Majesty in 1683, when Vienna was besieged by the Turks, the Emperor granted to him the eventual Succession of the Kingdom of Hungary, (49)

in Case the House of Austria should fail of Heirs Male; forasmuch as the Charges the Elector of Bavaria had been at, for the Relief of Vienna, and the Emperor's hereditary Countries, amounted to thirty-two Millions. See ditto.

#### Numb. VII.

The present Emperor's Commissionial Decree, communicated to the Diet of the Empire, September 11th, 1742. See Daily Advertiser, September 25th, 1742.

That, as he defires nothing more than to prevent a general War, and, above all, to remove it out of the Empire, he is ready to withdraw his most Christian Majesty's auxiliary Troops from Bohemia, and to send them back to France, evacuating, at the same Time, the City of Prague, and the whole Kingdom of Bohemia, provided the Court of Vienna will, the same Day, cause the City of Munich to be evacuated, and all Bavaria; Restitution being to be made both upon the one Side and the other.

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## Numb. VIII.

An Account of Count Gotter's Negotiation at the Court of Vienna in December 1740. See ditto Vol. XV. p. 143. Also Annals of Europe for the Year 1740, p. 452.

By this it appears, that the King of *Pruf*fia offered the following Terms to the Court of *Vienna*, viz.

- 1. I am ready, with all my Forces, to guarantee the whole Dominions possessed by the House of *Austria* in *Germany* against all Invaders.
- 2. For this End I will enter into a strict Alliance with the Courts of Vienna, Russia, and the Maritime Powers.
- 3. I will use all my Interest to procure the Imperial Dignity for the Duke of Lorrain, and to support his Election against all Opposers; and I have Reason to believe I shall succeed.

4. To put the Court of Vienna into a good State of Defence, I will immediately furnish it with Two Millions of Florins.

You will naturally imagine, that, for fuch fubstantial Services upon such hard Terms, I ought surely to expect a proper Security for indemnifying me from all the Hazards I may expose myself to, in the Affair I willingly embark in.

In short, what I want is the entire and absolute Cession of all Silesia, not only as my Right, but as my Reward for the Toils and Hazards which I may incur, in the Career that I am entered upon for the Sasety and Glory of the House of Au-ssria.

N. B. These were his first Propositions; and, though he received a haughty Answer, yet he ordered his Minister at the Court of Vienna, to leave no Stone unturned to induce the Duke of Lorain to look, with less Prejudice, upon the Plan and Views he had proposed to himself; and to give his Highness to understand

derstand, that, though he demanded the entire Cession of Silesia, he might perhaps content himself with a Part. See ditto.

These were at first the King of Prussia's Sentiments; and, whilst he continued in these Sentiments, neither France nor Bavaria offered to stir any other Way than by a Paper-War.

I willingly embank in.

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N. S. Their were his find Insponitions; and, though he received a fan ing Antique, ver he ordered his illuster state over of Finner, to have no hope and named to induce the Days of Lorin is no look, with ideal height of Lorin is a look, with ideal height of an analysis of the same oppoint to the himself and to give height outs to unstanded, and to give height outs to unstanded.







